

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT

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CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT
FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 18 May 1967, at 3 p.m.

THE UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

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DOCUMENT
COLLECTION

Chairman:

Mr. F. CAVALLETTI

(Italy)

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PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. S. CORREA da COSTA
Mr. A. F. AZEREDO da SILVEIRA
Mr. C. A. de SOUZA e SILVA
Mr. O. MELO

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV
Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV

Burma:

U KYAW MIN

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS
Mr. S. F. RAE
Mr. C. J. MARSHALL
Mr. J. R. MORDEN

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. P. WINKLER
Mr. T. LAHODA
Mr. V. VAJNAR

Ethiopia:

Mr. A. ZELLEKE
Mr. B. ASSFAW

India:

Mr. V. C. TRIVEDI
Mr. N. KRISHNAN
Mr. K. P. JAIN

Italy:

Mr. F. CAVALLETTI
Mr. G. P. TOZZOLI
Mr. E. FRANCO
Mr. F. SORO

Mexico:

Mr. J. CASTANEDA
Miss E. AGUIRRE
Mr. F. CORREA

Nigeria:

Alhaji SULE KOLO
Mr. B. O. TONWE

Poland:

Mr. M. BLUSZTAJN
Mr. J. GOLDBLAT
Mr. E. STANIEWSKI
Mrs. COSMA-KOMPANIEJCEW

Romania:

Mr. N. ECOBESCO
Mr. O. IONESCO
Mr. C. GEORGESCO
Mr. A. OROIANU

Sweden:

Mr. A. EDELSTAM
Mr. I. VIRGIN
Mr. U. ERICSSON
Mr. R. BOMAN

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. A. A. ROSHCHIN
Mr. R. M. TIMBERBAEV
Mr. I. M. PANENYKH
Mr. V. V. SHUSTOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALLAF
Mr. A. OSMAN
Mr. O. SIRRY
Mr. A. A. SALAM

United Kingdom:

Lord CHALFONT
Sir Harold BEELEY
Mr. I. F. PORTER
Mr. P. BUXTON

United States of America:

Mr. W. FOSTER
Mr. G. BUNN
Mr. C. G. BREAM
Mr. C. GLEYSTEN

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Special Representative
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

1. The CHAIRMAN (Italy) (translation from French): I declare open the 297th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
2. In greeting the members of the Committee upon the resumption of our work, I should like to express my sincere wishes for the success of our important task. I should like to welcome most cordially Mr. Correa da Costa, the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, who is amongst us for the first time and who will be speaking on behalf of the delegation of Brazil later on. I should also like to offer a most warm welcome to Ambassador Jorge Castañeda, the new representative of Mexico to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
3. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is resuming its work in a complicated situation. International tension not only is not decreasing but on the contrary, as a result of the further escalation by the United States of the war of aggression in Viet-Nam, it is continuing to increase. Attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of States; to nullify the right of peoples to decide their own future themselves, represent a serious threat to the cause of peace throughout the world. The situation also remains disquieting on the continent of Europe, where certain circles still count on acquiring nuclear weapons.
4. In these circumstances the solution of the problem of disarmament, and in the first place of the problem of preventing the further proliferation of nuclear weapons, becomes a matter of particular urgency. The need to solve this problem, as an important step towards stopping the arms race, was stressed by the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties on problems of security in Europe, which was held at Karlovy Vary at the end of April this year.
5. The attitude of the Soviet Union towards the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is well known. The Soviet Union regards it as one of the key problems of European and international security, and is striving to reach agreement on a draft non-proliferation treaty that would meet the purpose of strengthening peace and eliminating the threat of nuclear war.
6. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, speaking of the attitude of the USSR in relation to a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, stated in his speech of 24 April at the Conference in Karlovy Vary:

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

"At present negotiations are taking place for the conclusion of an international treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are directing their efforts so that this work may be successfully concluded and a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons be open for signature by all the States of the world."

7. The main problem which the treaty is intended to solve is to preclude completely and reliably any possibility of any proliferation whatsoever of nuclear weapons. It is precisely on that requirement that the Soviet Union has based itself in consistently advocating the closing of all channels leading to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. That basic principle of the treaty was clearly and specifically formulated in resolution 2028 (XX) adopted by the twentieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

"The treaty should be void of any loop-holes which might permit nuclear or non-nuclear Powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form". (ENDC/161).

8. To satisfy those requirements a non-proliferation treaty must first of all prohibit the transfer of nuclear weapons by nuclear Powers, and do so in such a manner as to cover all possible ways and means of such transfer. In short, the treaty must prohibit the transfer of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices to anybody, whether directly or indirectly. But, in order to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, it is also necessary to prohibit the transfer of control over nuclear weapons; that would be in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1665 (XVI) of the United Nations General Assembly.

9. It is also necessary that the treaty should prohibit nuclear Powers from rendering assistance to non-nuclear Powers or encouraging or inciting them to produce nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or to acquire them by any other means, or to acquire control over such weapons or explosive devices. In their turn, the non-nuclear Powers should renounce the production or acquisition of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, and should also not accept the transfer of such weapons or explosive devices from anybody.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

10. A treaty based on such provisions would close all chinks and loop-holes through which proliferation of nuclear weapons could take place. The conclusion of such a treaty would be an important contribution to the cause of strengthening international security and preserving world peace. It is hardly possible to dispute the fact that an increase in the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons or given access to them would greatly increase tension in international relations and would increase the probability of the use of nuclear weapons.

11. It is important to note in that connexion that the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons is a universal one. The proliferation of nuclear weapons constitutes a threat to the great Powers. They face an increased risk of being dragged into a nuclear war as a result of conflicts in one or another part of the world. The proliferation of nuclear weapons equally constitutes a threat to small countries. For them, as for all countries in the world, a nuclear war would be truly catastrophic.

12. In resolution 2153 (XXI) of the General Assembly it is noted with complete justification that an increase in the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons "may lead to the aggravation of tension between States and the risk of a nuclear war". (ENDC/185) In this connexion there is a particular danger in access to nuclear weapons being acquired by forces that are making revanchist demands. That is why the conclusion without delay of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons would be the very measure dictated by life itself, which would help to create a more reliable degree of security for all States and which would contribute to the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of confidence among States.

13. The conclusion of an international treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons would undoubtedly help to ensure the security of all States, nuclear and non-nuclear. It would be in the interests of all peoples reliably to link their future, not to participation in the nuclear arms race, but to measures aimed at reducing the danger of nuclear war, at disarmament.

14. In its approach to a solution of the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Government has taken into consideration the wishes of the non-nuclear Powers in regard to ensuring their security. Taking those wishes into account, the Soviet Union proposed in 1966 that a provision be inserted in the non-proliferation treaty stipulating that nuclear weapons should not be used against

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

non-nuclear States not having nuclear weapons on their territory (ENDC/167, p.3). The Soviet side confirms its willingness to include a special article containing such a provision in the draft treaty if the other parties to the negotiations agree to this.

15. An important aspect of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is the effect that it would have on the peaceful development of nuclear energy. In this connexion a number of misgivings have been voiced to the effect that the treaty might prevent the non-nuclear countries from enjoying the benefits that are inherent in the peaceful potentialities of the atom. We fully realize the importance of this problem and we understand the desire of the non-nuclear countries to avail themselves of all the achievements of present-day science and technology, including nuclear energy, for the purpose of their own development and to raise their standards of living. Our point of view in that regard is that the solution of the non-proliferation problem is one of the most important conditions that would ensure for the non-nuclear countries the most rapid and successful development of their peaceful atomic industry.

16. Renunciation by the non-nuclear countries of military ways of using atomic energy would enable them to concentrate all their scientific, technical and material resources on the peaceful utilization of the achievements of nuclear physics, which would undoubtedly widen their potentialities in that field. Indeed, it is well known what huge efforts and material resources are required for the development of nuclear weapons. The great material expenditures and the diversion of the efforts and energy of scientists from peaceful to military problems would all hinder the peaceful development of atomic energy.

17. Another important aspect of the conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty would be that, as a result of that treaty, more favourable conditions would be created for the development of broad international co-operation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy. In our opinion the treaty could contribute to the further expansion of such co-operation. The Soviet Union has advocated, and continues to advocate, the principle of general access to the benefits of the use of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, both for nuclear and for non-nuclear countries.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

18. An important condition that would ensure for the non-nuclear countries the possibility of enjoying the benefits of the peaceful use of nuclear energy is the acquisition by those countries of the appropriate technological information and their participation in the exchange of scientific information in that field. Thereby they would not only derive benefit for themselves, but would also contribute individually or in co-operation with other States to the further development of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, which would be in accordance with the interests of all mankind. Nuclear energy is a great achievement of human genius; it should be not a weapon of destruction and death, but a mighty means of improving the standard of living of the peoples of all countries in the world. It is this noble purpose that the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is intended to meet.

19. During the last session of our Committee the representatives of a number of non-aligned States raised the question of how to reconcile solution of the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons with the use of nuclear explosions by non-nuclear countries for peaceful purposes. We well understand the motives that underlay the statements of the non-aligned countries on this problem, and we consider that it should be solved in such a way as not to cause any prejudice to the interests of the non-nuclear States. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that in certain countries there are circles which are seeking to find in the problem of the use of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes a pretext for delaying and frustrating the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

20. In that connexion we should like to recall once again our attitude towards the problem of the carrying out of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes in non-nuclear States. It cannot be denied that any device for the carrying out of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes in no way differs in principle from devices having a military purpose. Starting from that premise, we define our attitude towards the carrying out of such explosions by non-nuclear States on the basis of our position of principle in regard to non-proliferation in general; and, above all, we are guided by the consideration that a treaty on this subject should close all loop-holes for the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form.

21. The Soviet Union understands the interest of non-nuclear States in the use of nuclear energy in the future in order to carry out such major projects in the

field of economic development as may require nuclear explosions. We firmly maintain the position that an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons cannot and should not prevent non-nuclear countries from using nuclear energy for the purposes of peaceful economic development. In this connexion we bear in mind that the question of the procedure and conditions governing the carrying out of nuclear explosions is a particular question which can be settled only on the basis of a separate international agreement.

22. In discussing the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons at sessions of the General Assembly and here in the Eighteen-Nation Committee, many delegations have devoted considerable attention to the question of the measures which should be taken to ensure effective implementation of the treaty. Moreover, the representatives of a whole number of States have stressed that the parties to the treaty should work out and adopt reliable measures, acceptable to all, for verifying how the obligation to refrain from acquiring nuclear weapons or manufacturing them independently is complied with by States.

23. Such a provision was also laid down in General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX) as one of the basic principles with which a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should comply. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to that provision and considers that the treaty should contain reliable safeguards to ensure its consistent implementation.

24. In what form and how should those safeguards be applied? Many countries have expressed the view that in the implementation of a non-proliferation treaty the system of safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which has been approved by the overwhelming majority of States, should be used. Thus, at the meeting of our Committee held on 16 March, the representative of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Khallaf, said in this connexion:

"The treaty must contain provisions clearly stipulating compulsory and uniform application of the single system of safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency to all non-nuclear States parties to the treaty. Moreover, the control system must be extended to the transfer of nuclear material and to all nuclear activities, past and present.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

"In such a treaty the only inspection system acceptable in this respect is compulsory and not voluntary, international and not regional, effective and not fictitious." (ENDC/PV.294, paras. 14, 15)

It seems to us that that viewpoint deserves the most serious attention, and it is hardly likely that any weighty arguments will be found to refute the validity of the extremely important points put forward by the representative of the United Arab Republic.

25. The conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is important not only in itself. In General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX), which lays down the basic principles of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, it is pointed out that "The treaty should be a step towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament, and, more particularly, nuclear disarmament." The Soviet delegation, in stating the position of the Soviet Union in regard to a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, has repeatedly stressed that we regard a solution to this problem not as an end in itself or as a single, isolated measure, but as a link in a chain of other disarmament measures designed to eliminate the threat of nuclear war. In this connexion may I remind you of the statement made by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Kosygin, on 9 February?

"...we regard the solution of the problem of non-proliferation as an important step towards the subsequent nuclear disarmament of States. Non-proliferation is not a means of consolidating the particular status of the present nuclear Powers, but an important stage in the struggle for nuclear disarmament, for banning the use of nuclear weapons, for their complete removal from the armaments of States and their destruction, and the struggle to end the production of such weapons. We are confident that in the end it will be possible to solve all these problems and thus rid mankind of the threat hanging over it." (ENDC/PV.287, para. 34)

26. The Soviet Union has always advocated, and continues to advocate, that the problem of disarmament should be solved in the most radical way: all nuclear weapons should be eliminated once and for all and agreement should be reached on the complete dismantling of the military machine of all States. That is the aim of the proposals which have been advocated for so long by the Soviet Union in

conducting negotiations on disarmament. You are aware what great difficulties are encountered in negotiating a solution to the problem of nuclear disarmament and other problems relating to the elimination of armaments. For this reason the course recommended by the General Assembly, which has given priority to the question of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, is absolutely right.

27. The conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty would create more favourable conditions for ensuring the solution of other disarmament questions in regard to which it is at present proving difficult to reach a mutually-acceptable agreement. Furthermore, we consider that the draft treaty should contain provisions which would encourage States to intensify their efforts to solve the problems of disarmament and especially those relating to the elimination of nuclear weapons. It is important, in particular, that the treaty should state the intention of the States parties to the treaty to bring about the cessation of the nuclear arms race as quickly as possible, calling upon all States to co-operate in achieving this aim. The treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should open up a clear prospect in regard to the problem of disarmament as a whole, by confirming the intention of all the parties to the treaty to struggle for the elimination from national and international arsenals of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

28. Furthermore, as the Soviet delegation has already pointed out, we agree with the proposal put forward by the non-aligned States to include in the draft treaty a provision to the effect that nothing in the treaty should adversely affect the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties in order to ensure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories (ENDC/178). That is in accordance with the general policy of the Soviet Union, which advocates the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. The Soviet Union regards the struggle for disarmament as one of the most important orientations of its foreign policy. As the Soviet Government has repeatedly stated, it will do everything in its power to put a speedy end to the arms race and to achieve a solution of the disarmament problem.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

29. If the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is to constitute a really solid basis for further steps in the field of disarmament, it must be durable and reliable and must give assurance to all the parties to it that it will be implemented strictly and without fail. The durability of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is an important factor ensuring the vitality and effectiveness of the agreement on which we are working. It is precisely with this aim in view that the corresponding provisions of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should be drafted.

30. Since we have been conducting negotiations regarding a non-proliferation treaty, although a considerable amount of work has been done we still have not achieved such a result as would enable us to solve the most urgent problem of our times -- the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The forces opposing such a treaty and striving by every means to delay and prevent its conclusion are becoming more active. That places upon all the States Members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament a great and serious responsibility. Every effort must be exerted to ensure the achievement of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons with due regard to the interests of all States. Thereby an important step would be taken towards ensuring international security and the elimination of the threat of nuclear war.

31. Before concluding my statement I should like to take this opportunity to welcome the newly-arrived Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, Ambassador da Costa. We should like to wish him every success in his work both within and outside the Committee.

32. We likewise welcome among us the head of the Mexican delegation, Ambassador Castañeda. We should like to wish him also every success in his activities both here in the Committee, in the struggle for disarmament and for the solution of the problems confronting the Committee, and in regard to the solution of the other problems with which he has to deal in his international and other activities.

33. Mr. FOSTER (United States of America): I should like to join in the warm welcome extended by you, Mr. Chairman, and my co-Chairman to Ambassador Correa da Costa of Brazil and Ambassador Castañeda of Mexico. I, too, hope that their presence here will be most useful, and I am sure it will be.
34. The first objective of the United States at this Conference is a non-proliferation treaty. We want to negotiate a fair and effective treaty, one that can be accepted by all and one that will endure. For half a decade there have been international discussions regarding a non-proliferation treaty. United Nations resolutions have been proposed, debated and passed. Draft treaties have been offered. Extended public debates have taken place. In addition, lengthy private negotiations have been carried on. It is time now for the results to be submitted to a waiting world.
35. President Johnson's message, which I read at our first meeting this year, expressed the hope that it would "soon be possible to recommend draft provisions of a non-proliferation treaty for the consideration of the Committee" (ENDC/187). Just before our recess in March, my delegation made clear our continuing desire to submit draft treaty language to the Committee. I then pledged every effort to achieve a draft that could be placed before the Committee as the joint recommendation of the two co-Chairmen. With the greatest possible energy my Government undertook immediately a new phase of consultations with our allies; and from the latter part of April until today the co-Chairmen have continued their discussions.
36. In my judgment, a great deal of progress has been made towards a text which could be accepted by all those governments which wish to support a non-proliferation treaty. The co-Chairmen are continuing their active discussions to produce such a text, and it is my hope that my fellow co-Chairman and I will be in a position to make a joint recommendation to the Committee very soon.
37. The United States continues to believe that there is no more important problem before the world than to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. We are determined to submit to the Eighteen-Nation Committee and to all the countries of the world a draft non-proliferation treaty which, after further negotiation here and consideration by all governments, can be accepted by all governments which wish to take realistic steps to eliminate the possibility of nuclear war. Because this treaty must be a benefit to all and a detriment to none, its negotiation is extraordinarily complicated. The co-Chairmen's work is therefore not yet done. But my hope is that we can present our recommendations on what we have accomplished to the Committee in the near future.

38. Mr. CORREA da COSTA (Brazil): First of all, allow me to say how deeply honoured I feel to participate today in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. Throughout five years of discussions some progress has been achieved; and I pay tribute to this Committee, which has been instrumental in arriving at some positive results in the common effort to reduce world tension and ensure the maintenance of peace in the world. My country has been constantly engaged during this period in the task of co-operating to find constructive ways of avoiding nuclear war for ever so that the forces of the atom are utilized solely for the benefit of mankind. My personal gratification is enhanced by the fact that the problems of disarmament, for some time now, have been foremost in my thoughts, both as a member of the Brazilian delegation to a number of sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations and as the head of my country's delegation to the negotiations which led to the Treaty which was recently signed in Mexico City. I thank you very sincerely, Mr. Chairman, for your kind words, and I also wish to express my gratitude to Ambassador Roshchin and to Ambassador Foster for their kind words of welcome.
39. We are about to resume a difficult process of negotiation. Before us lies the arduous task of drafting an effective treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons - an issue that has been under discussion at the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee since 1965. At the start the main obstacle was the lack of agreement between the two super-Powers; today there are auspicious signs that a basic agreement is in the process of being reached. It remains now to bring it into line with the legitimate interests of the non-nuclear-weapon countries of the world.
40. Brazil has earnestly participated in the work of this Committee in its search for formulations that might be conducive to general and complete disarmament. We have supported for this very reason all the efforts that have been made here to check the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to halt nuclear tests in outer space, in the atmosphere and in the ocean, as well as proposals regarding the creation of denuclearized zones. Brazil is already a party to the Moscow Treaty (ENDC/100/Rev.1), and my Government has just signed, in Mexico City, the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (ENDC/186). This attitude reflects our secular tradition of pacifism. Quite recently, on 5 April, President Costa e Silva solemnly reaffirmed Brazil's historical stand when he outlined the foreign policy of the new Government:

(Mr. Correa da Costa, Brazil)

"We repudiate nuclear armament and we are aware of the serious risk that the dissemination of nuclear weapons would bring upon mankind. It is imperative, however, that no actual or potential hindrances prejudice the full utilization by our countries of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Otherwise we should be accepting a new form of dependence which is certainly inconsistent with our aspirations for development."

41. Our signing of the Latin-American Treaty is a direct outcome of this policy, the main objective of which is to speed up the peaceful nuclearization of Brazil while securing at the same time complete renunciation of nuclear armaments. In signing the regional Treaty we have also wished to mark our adherence to an initiative which sets an example and provides a basis for efforts towards non-proliferation on a world-wide scale.

42. In sending a special envoy to Geneva, the Brazilian Government wished to underline the purposes which inspire its position and to affirm unequivocally the distinction that exists between peaceful and military uses of nuclear energy, since my Government is determined to put the atom at the service of the economic and social development of Brazil and of Latin America. The Treaty of Mexico draws a neat distinction between those two antinomic aspects of the utilization of the new source of energy. Thus, the message it conveys is that it is not enough to prohibit nuclear weapons; it is imperative that every nation retain the right to mobilize, without any restriction whatsoever, the whole range of modern technological resources required to eliminate poverty and underdevelopment, which generate grave international tensions.

43. Nuclear energy plays a decisive role in this mobilization of resources. We must develop and utilize it in every form, including the explosives that make possible not only great civil engineering projects but also an ever-increasing variety of applications that may prove essential to speed up the progress of our peoples. To accept the self-limitation requested from us in order to secure the monopoly of the present nuclear-weapon Powers would amount to renouncing in advance boundless prospects in the field of peaceful activities. In fact, the new discoveries and breaks-through that continuously enrich technology cannot remain the privilege of a few without establishing within the international community an irreparable relationship of dependence.

44. For the developing countries the only way to shorten the road in the race against backwardness lies precisely in the technological leap that full utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes can provide. Otherwise such countries will have let the scientific revolution of our time pass them by, even before having themselves completed the cycle of the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. With the authority of a country that has never embarked on a war of conquest, and also as a signatory of the only existing Treaty that prohibits nuclear weapons, Brazil will exert its best efforts to see that an agreement on non-proliferation is arrived at in this forum, so that the basic principles established in our continent may be extended to the whole world.

45. For this reason Brazil, which together with Mexico represents Latin America in this Committee, does not wish there to be any confusion here between non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the free utilization of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. Nor would we accept that, in the name of disarmament, the right of nations to progress and economic development should be curtailed.

46. It is unquestionable that the super-Powers have at their disposal a capacity for nuclear strike many times superior to their security needs - the "overkill" in the disarmament jargon. Why then could we not examine the possibility of converting at least part of those tremendous surpluses of energy to purposes of development? Why should we not transfer to the nuclear and spatial age the biblical appeal to "beat swords into ploughshares"? A programme of that kind would be far more effective than a prohibition inserted in a treaty. Such a programme would certainly discourage national initiatives which the nuclear weapon Powers consider conducive to proliferation. Moreover, it would constitute a concrete measure towards disarmament, which is the ultimate goal of our efforts.

47. The proscription of nuclear weapons must certainly be effected, but in a way that will not limit the right to the full utilization of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. The nations that possess such armament maintain that formal recognition of their monopoly is an indispensable requisite for world peace; besides, they advocate limitations on peaceful activities, since they claim it is impossible to distinguish nuclear technology for peaceful use from nuclear technology for military purposes. We acknowledge that that is a polemic point; but its solution must not be sought in the renunciation of the sovereign right of unrestricted development of the new source of energy.

(Mr. Correa da Costa, Brazil)

48. Brazil does not intend to acquire nuclear weapons either by receiving or manufacturing them; but we shall not waive the right to conduct research without limitation and eventually to manufacture or receive nuclear explosives that will enable us to perform great engineering works, such as the connexion of hydrographic basins, the digging of canals or ports - in a word, the reshaping of geography, if necessary, to ensure the economic development and the welfare of the Brazilian people.

49. No doubt we shall accept such international co-operation as may be offered to us for the conduct of those undertakings. In this context we envisage several forms of collaboration, starting with the creation of a Latin-American atom community, as proposed by President Costa e Silva at the recent meeting of Heads of State of our Continent in Punta del Este. We do not exclude but rather look forward to the co-operation of the nuclear Powers - military or not - in technical assistance, in contracts for actual detonation services, or in the manufacture of explosive devices. Such co-operation could even be institutionalized by the establishment of a new international agency or the reorganization of existing ones.

50. To sum up, the Brazilian Government considers that the risks arising from the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy and from the free application of pacific nuclear technology should be eliminated through adequate systems of control that do not hinder scientific development or entail industrial espionage. What we cannot accept is the adoption of measures that might involve the imposition upon our countries of the permanent status of technological underdevelopment.

51. Mr. CASTANEDA (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): First I should like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your kind words of welcome to the new representatives who are participating in the work of the Committee for the first time and one of whom I have the honour to be. Secondly, I should like to make a brief statement.

52. My delegation feels that this is not the proper forum nor the time to interpret in an authoritative manner the scope of the obligations of the States parties to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, called the Tlatelolco Treaty (ENDC/186). Normally it will be for the Parties themselves and the bodies set up under the Treaty to interpret it in putting it into effect, in conformity with precedent and with the other relevant elements of interpretation. However, as representative of a State which is a co-author of that Treaty, I cannot

neglect to make a clarification in regard to the interpretation given by the representative of Brazil, Mr. Correa da Costa, concerning the scope of the right of the States parties to the Treaty to carry out nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

53. The Tlatelolco Treaty permits the peaceful use of atomic energy and even stimulates its use, as was rightly stressed by the representative of Brazil, for the benefit of the Latin-American peoples. Article 18 of the Treaty defines the limits of that right: it indicates that "explosions of nuclear devices for peaceful purposes" are allowed provided that they do not contravene article 18 and "the other articles of the Treaty, particularly articles 1 and 5" (ibid., p. 24). The provisions of article 18, to which reference is made, deal with the information which must be given by a State intending to carry out an explosion, and with the way in which supervision and control are to be implemented.

54. Article 1, whose provisions must be complied with, as I have indicated, contains the essential obligation of the Treaty "to refrain from engaging in, encouraging or authorizing, directly or indirectly, or in any way participating in the testing, use, manufacture, production, possession or control of any nuclear weapon" (ibid., p. 15). Article 5, in its turn, defines what is meant by a nuclear weapon for the purpose of the Treaty: "any device which is capable of releasing nuclear energy in an uncontrolled manner and which has a group of characteristics that are appropriate for use for warlike purposes" (ibid., p. 16). In other words, under the Tlatelolco Treaty those explosions for peaceful purposes are permitted which do not constitute an explosion of a nuclear weapon, as defined in the Treaty.

55. The consequences and implications which may derive from this authorization and the corresponding prohibition mentioned in article 18, as well as the possibilities which remain open, such as the possibility of obtaining international co-operation through an organization, have already been examined here in the past by my delegation and I shall not deal with them again. I merely wished to clarify and define the scope of the Treaty of Tlatelolco in that respect by recalling its provisions.

The Conference decided to issue the following communique:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 297th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador Cavalletti, representative of Italy.

"Statements were made by the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Brazil and Mexico.

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 23 May 1967, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.

